

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/EGY:HFMATTHEWS:CEK

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

NEA - MR ATHERTON

S/S :REWOODS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 039170

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR SENATOR PERCY

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. PLEASE ARRANGE SEE SENATOR PERCY TO CONVEY FOLLOWING
ORAL MESSAGE TO HIM FROM ME:

2. BEGIN MESSAGE: I HAD LOOKED FORWARD TO EXCHANGING
VIEWS WITH YOU FOLLOWING OUR TRIPS TO THE MIDDLE EAST,
AND WAS ESPECIALLY ANXIOUS TO HAVE YOUR IMPRESSIONS FROM
YOUR HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL AND USEFUL VISIT. I ALSO KNOW
THAT YOU WANTED TO HAVE MY SUGGESTIONS ON USEFUL POINTS
YOU COULD MAKE WITH OTHER IMPORTANT DIGNITARIES AT THE
CORONATION IN NEPAL. UNFORTUNATELY THE TIMING OF YOUR
DEPARTURE AND MY RETURN PREVENTED SUCH A MEETING, WHICH
WILL HAVE TO AWAIT YOUR RETURN. HOWEVER, I THOUGHT IT
USEFUL TO GIVE YOU A GENERAL RUNDOWN ON MY OWN TRIP TO
THE MIDDLE EAST, SO THAT YOU COULD DRAW FROM IT IN
DISCUSSIONS WITH SELECTED PERSONS WHOM YOU MAY SEE IN
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KATHMANDU. I HAVE THEREFORE ASKED AMBASSADOR CARGO TO CONVEY TO YOU MY CURRENT ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION. END ORAL MESSAGE.

3. YOU SHOULD BRIEF SENATOR PERCY ALONG FOLLOWING LINE:

A. SECRETARY'S LATEST VISIT TO MIDDLE EAST WAS ESSENTIALLY EXPLORATORY -- TO FOLLOW-UP ON DIPLOMATIC CONSULTATIONS OF RECENT MONTHS WITH KEY MIDDLE EAST GOVERNMENTS AND, THROUGH DIRECT TALKS WITH LEADERS OF THOSE GOVERNMENTS, TO SEE WHETHER POSSIBILITY EXISTS TO NEGOTIATE FURTHER AGREEMENTS IN THE STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS TOWARD A MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT.

B. OUR CONCLUSION IS THAT SUCH A POSSIBILITY DOES IN FACT EXIST AND THAT PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS SECRETARY VISITED -- EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND ISRAEL -- WANT US TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS. SECRETARY THEREFORE PLANS TO RETURN TO AREA IN FIRST HALF OF MARCH FOR A MORE INTENSIVE AND CONCRETE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

C. WE FOUND GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH OUR VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE -- WHICH WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT AS THE FRAMEWORK AND FORUM FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT -- IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THERE HAD FIRST BEEN ANOTHER CONCRETE STEP ON THE GROUND. IN THE ABSENCE OF THE MOMENTUM SUCH A STEP WOULD GENERATE, WE BELIEVE A RETURN TO GENEVA WOULD LEAD TO ALMOST CERTAIN STALEMATE, WITH ALL THE FRUSTRATIONS AND DANGERS THAT WOULD INVOLVE.

D. THE MAIN ISSUES TO BE DEALT WITH IN THIS ROUND ARE (1) TO RECONCILE EGYPT'S NEED FOR A SIGNIFICANT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL WITH ISRAEL'S NEED FOR RECIPROCAL UNDERTAKINGS BY EGYPT THAT WILL REASSURE ISRAELI OPINION THAT A FURTHER AGREEMENT REPRESENTS A GENUINE MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF PEACE; (2) TO RE-ASSURE SYRIA -- AS WE HAVE SOUGHT TO DO -- THAT IT WILL NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS AND THAT THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH IS NOT DESIGNED TO DIVIDE THE ARABS ONE FROM ANOTHER; AND (3) TO KEEP THE QUESTION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS -- FOR WHICH WE RECOGNIZE A SOLUTION MUST BE FOUND AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME -- FROM BEING INJECTED PREMATURELY INTO THE PICTURE, SINCE THE PLO'S REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF A RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST UNDERSTANDABLY MAKES IT AN UNACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATING PARTNER TO ISRAEL.

E. DURING THE FEW WEEKS BEFORE THE SECRETARY'S NEXT TRIP, WE HAVE ASKED THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED TO REFLECT HOW THESE ISSUES CAN BE MANAGED. MEANWHILE, WE ARE IN TOUCH WITH THE SOVIETS AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA

CONFERENCE TO COMPARE ASSESSMENTS OF THE SITUATION AND TO MAKE CLEAR OUR RECOGNITION THAT ANY FINAL SETTLEMENT WILL REQUIRE THE COOPERATION, SUPPORT AND POSSIBLE GUARANTEES FROM BOTH OF US. THE SECRETARY MET IN GENEVA WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO FOR THIS PURPOSE.

F. THERE ARE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES AT WORK WHICH INHIBIT FREEDOM OF ACTION OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED. AT SAME TIME, A POWERFUL FACTOR FAVORING FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IS THE AWARENESS OF THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE AND OF PROLONGED STALEMATE, NOT ONLY FOR THE REGION BUT FOR THE WORLD. END BRIEFING. KISSINGER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CODELS, PEACE TALKS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE039170
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: HFMATTHEWS:CEK
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750061-0754
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750284/aaaagqmc.tel
Line Count: 137
Locator: TEXT ON MICROFILM, TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <25 JUN 2003 by KelleyW0>; APPROVED <20 NOV 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> srp 971008
Subject: MESSAGE FOR SENATOR PERCY
TAGS: PFOR, XF, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (PERCY, CHARLES H)
To: KATHMANDU
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006